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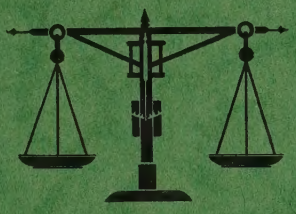
THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER

A REVIEW OF SOVIET WRITING
ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA



PRICE SEVEN SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE

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THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER

Vol.III No.7 July-August 1961

The Mizan Newsletter aims at giving an objective and balanced account of current Soviet writings on the Middle East and Africa

MIDDLE EAST

The Arab Countries and the New Soviet Ideological Offensive indicates the way in which the directives of the Moscow conference of Communist Parties are to be applied in the Arab countries. "Democracy" and "Arab working class solidarity" are to be the slogans for struggle against what Soviet writers call "despotic regimes" in certain Arab countries.

Kuwait: The Soviet View is an account of Soviet press reports on the Kuwait crisis, and of earlier references in Soviet writing to Kuwait's relationship to other Arab countries.

The Middle East in the Soviet Press includes Soviet comment on alleged "anti-Soviet provocations" in both Persia and Turkey.

AFRICA

Some Soviet Views on the Christian Churches in Africa is an account of Soviet writing on the subject of Christian missions in Africa and their relationship to the African independence movement and to African indigenous culture.

The Popular Presentation of Africa in the Soviet Union examines the picture of Africa which, for Soviet readers, emerges from the pages of the daily and periodical press.

Africa in the Soviet Press includes Soviet reports on developments in Angola, the Congo and Algeria.

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M I D D L E E A S T

THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND THE NEW SOVIET IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE

It is now clear that the Moscow conference of Communist Parties of November 1960 represents a turning-point in the Communist and Soviet view of the political future for the non-Communist countries of Asia and Africa. The growing divergence of the nationalist and Communist positions in these countries since 1958 had previously placed the Communist movement on the defensive. In his report to the CPSU Congress in February 1959 Khrushchev was moved by recent expressions of anti-Communism in the UAR to defend the Communists on the basis of their record in the common anti-imperialist struggle. He admitted that "the liquidation of imperialist oppression" was followed by a new stage in which class interests came to the fore, and the workers and peasants asserted their economic and political rights; these were "social processes...which inevitably give birth to various opinions on the means for the further development of the state in question". But as regards the "further development" of such states he expressed no views, beyond stating that "we as Communists, and indeed all progressive people, naturally sympathize with those who are fighting for social justice".

"Despotic regimes" or "national democracy" The statement of the Moscow conference of Communist Parties shows that the Communist movement has now gone over to the offensive: "Communists regard it as their task to launch a determined offensive on the ideological front." For the future development of non-Communist under-developed countries the statement indicates a pattern towards which their peoples and the Communist Parties should jointly strive - that of "national democracies". A "national democracy" must fight against imperialism for its political and economic independence; but it must also "reject dictatorial and despotic methods of government", and its people, enjoying "broad democratic rights and liberties", must be free to establish political parties and social organizations, to participate in shaping government policy, and to work for agrarian reform "and other democratic and social changes". "Non-capitalist development" is recommended, as the best way to "abolish age-long backwardness and improve living standards". But the new Communist programme takes its stand primarily on "democratic liberties". The idea is that the working class and peasantry, once admitted to power,

will guide the country along a proper course.

This, it appears, is not a programme for revolution but for "consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution" - a revolution which is presumably considered to have begun already in some countries. B. Ponomarev, in an article on this subject ("The State of National Democracy", KOMMUNIST No.8 of 1961), says that the "decisive moment" in the national democratic revolution occurs when the people are granted full political rights and liberties. For the adoption of a socialist system, he says, "revolutionary changes are necessary in some form or another"; but a state of national democracy could provide the road for advance to non-capitalist development.

Whether or not a "national democracy" could still have a "national bourgeois" leadership has not yet been made clear in Soviet accounts. Ponomarev says that "in such a state the representatives of the progressive forces are in power". This phrase could be taken to mean the Communists and their sympathizers, but might of course also include the "progressive" wing of the national bourgeoisie. However, Ponomarev goes on to say:

> "In those liberated countries where the people are still deprived of democratic liberties, the struggle for the creation of a national democracy enables the progressive forces to sweep away the remnants of colonial administration, to seize power from the national traitors who are in the service of imperialism and to take the fate of the country into their own hands."

It is interesting to speculate which "liberated countries" and which "national traitors" are here in mind. As regards the "despotic regimes" mentioned in the Moscow statement ("Communists...work for a genuine democratization of social life and rally all the progressive forces to combat despotic regimes or to curb tendencies towards setting up such regimes") Ponomarev makes it clear that the regimes of the UAR and Iraq are included in this category:

> "The UAR authorities are more and more frequently resorting to reactionary and terrorist punitive measures against valiant anti-imperialist fighters and foremost representatives of the working class and the popular masses. Trials follow one after another. Hundreds of selfless fighters for national independence and democracy are in exile or in prison. A number of facts also go to show that repressions are being applied by the authorities in Iraq, whose government came to power through the active support of the workers and their democratic organizations."

Arab solidarity on a working-class basis The direction of the ideological counter-offensive, as regards the Arab countries, is clearly outlined in an article by I. Samylovskiy, "The Struggle of the Proletariat of the Arab Countries for Freedom and Independence" (AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No.5 of 1961). Samylovskiy is concerned to show that the movement for national democracy is one which all the Arab peoples, as such, can support, and that it is the logical continuation of their "national liberation movement". The inference is that it is not directed against Arab nationalism, but rather is a necessary and "progressive" development of it:

> "The working class of the Arab countries...sees its main task in assisting by every means the strengthening of the progressive, democratic direction of the contemporary national liberation movement of all the Arabs. Only in this way can the basic aspirations and strivings of the Arab peoples be realized."

The working class, Samylovskiy insists, is the most active "anti-imperialist" force in the Arab countries. As evidence of this he cites the action of Syrian oil workers in cutting the pipeline at the time of the Suez intervention, the Bahrain oil workers' "powerful demonstrations of solidarity with the Egyptian people", and the support shown by Lebanese and Iraqi workers to the workers of Aden in August 1960 when the latter went on strike in protest against a new law limiting trade union activity. The oil workers, says Samylovskiy, are "one of the largest and most advanced sections of the Arab working class"; more than other sections they have to "bear on their shoulders the burden of imperialist exploitation". He gives the numbers of oil workers in Saudi Arabia, Iraq and the Gulf states, and says that "they are supported by the railway workers, the dock workers and the textile workers".

Samylovskiy admits that "the proletariat of the Arab countries is still young and comparatively small", but, like other Soviet writers, he emphasizes that it is growing. In particular, he says that a "national technical intelligentsia" is growing as Arab countries such as the UAR are Iraq build up their national industry with Soviet aid; and he emphasizes the training given to Arab technicians both in their own countries and in the Soviet Union.

> "In this way a new stage has arrived in the history of the working class of Arab countries. The number of workers is growing and their role in political struggle is increasing, serving as an example for all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces of contemporary Arab society."

The reactionary forces in the Arab countries, says Samylovskiy, do everything to prevent the establishment and strengthening of workers'

organizations and parties; and they allege that, once independence is won, the trade unions no longer have any role, since classes and class struggle will disappear. "Such 'theories' are intended to lull the workers' class consciousness and to distract them from struggle for the unity of the Arabs. These 'theories' only play into the hands of the imperialist powers and reactionary forces which try to put a brake on social progress in the Arab countries."

Samylovskiy condemns, in now familiar Soviet terms, "repression" of the trade union movement, particularly in Iraq; the open letter addressed to Qasim by the Iraqi trade union leader Ali Shukr (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.10 of 1960, p.13) is once again quoted in this connection. He goes on to condemn persecution of Communists, defends their record in the struggle for national independence and a neutral foreign policy, and upholds the Communist Parties as "the vanguard of the Arab workers, the only organizations having an independent programme which accords with the demands and interests of the working people". He refers to the Communists' task of "struggle against despotic regimes", and says that their aim of creating "states of national democracy" accords with "national aspirations". He indignantly repudiates the allegation of "Arab reactionaries" that the Communists are enemies of Arab nationalism, and cites their contribution to the anti-imperialist cause in Algeria, Iraq, Egypt and Syria.

But in this article Samylovskiy does more than merely re-establish the common ground between Communism and Arab nationalism. He presents an ideal of Arab solidarity not only on an "anti-imperialist" basis, but on a working-class basis. In the Soviet view, reactionary forces are asserting themselves in the Arab countries, and "despotic regimes", or at least tendencies to set up such regimes, have made their appearance. In such circumstances, "democracy" and working-class solidarity present themselves as good slogans for an ideological counter-offensive.

How far the Soviet Union will carry this campaign as regards the UAR and Iraq remains to be seen. An article on reactions of Asian and African Communist Parties to the Moscow conference documents (AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No.6 of 1961) merely noted that the Syrian Communist Party had "unanimously approved" the documents, but said more of the reaction of the Iraqi Communist Party: "The Politburo of the Iraqi Communist Party resolved to organize in Iraq a campaign for the granting to the people of broad democratic rights and liberties and for the full democratization of public life in the country."

A Soviet view of the UAR It appears that the growing opposition of the Syrian Communist Party to the union of Syria and Egypt has influenced Soviet thinking on this subject. The Syrian Communist view was expressed

in an article by Khalid Baqdash in WORLD MARXIST REVIEW of January 1961 (English edition of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, the organ of the international Communist movement, published in Prague): "The experience of the nearly three years that have passed since the formation of the UAR has taught the peasants and all Syrians that the union imposed on them has no sound basis." Baqdash called for a national front to "wage struggle...for liberation from Egyptian colonialism". WORLD MARXIST REVIEW of July 1961 publishes an article on the independence struggle in Africa by I. Plyshevskiy, a Soviet commentator on Afro-Asian affairs, who states:

> "The African peoples reaching out toward unity...have before them the deplorable example of Egypt and Syria. As is generally known, union in this case amounted to the subordination of Syria to Egypt."

KUWAIT: THE SOVIET VIEW

Initial Soviet reactions to the Kuwait crisis, as shown by Soviet press treatment of it, are perhaps a better indication of Soviet thoughts on this issue than much of the later more considered and stereotyped comment.

A Tass report from London on the abrogation of the Anglo-Kuwaiti agreement of 1899 (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 22.6.61) noted that "the main difference in the status of Kuwait under the new agreement will be that Kuwait may now join the United Nations and form its own Ministry of Foreign Affairs". Although it was perhaps not to be expected that the Soviet Union would not take much note of Kuwait's new independence, this acknowledgment of its changed status and qualification for UN membership is of some significance. However, unlike the Chinese Government, the Soviet Government offered no congratulations on the occasion. (Chou En-Lai, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, sent the Shaykh of Kuwait a message of congratulations on Kuwait's independence.)

Qasim's press conference, at which he declared that Kuwait was "an indivisible part of Iraq", was given on 25th June. It was not reported by Tass until 27th June (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28.6.61): a Tass dispatch from Baghdad gave a very brief account of Qasim's claim, and a Tass dispatch from Cairo said that the Shaykh of Kuwait had sent telegrams to heads of Arab states condemning the Iraqi demand. No dispatches from Baghdad setting forth the Iraqi claim in any detail were published in Soviet newspapers. The first PRAVDA report on the dispute was from the paper's Cairo correspondent I. Belyayev (29.6.61). Belyayev recalled the annul-

ment of the 1899 agreement; after this, he said, there had been talk in Cairo about Kuwait's admission to the Arab League and the UN, and telegrams of congratulations had been sent to the Shaykh of Kuwait from many Arab capitals, including one on 24th June from President Nasir.

> "But literally on the next day a new surprise was sprung: in Baghdad the Iraqi Premier Gen. Abd al-Karim Qasim declared his intention of joining Kuwait to Iraq. According to Cairo newspapers, the commander of Iraq's armed forces Gen. Ahmad Salih al-Abdi declared the readiness of the Iraqi army at any moment to put into effect the annexation of Kuwait."

Belyayev concluded with a reference to British troop movements; the "imperialist powers", he said, were hastening to exploit the Kuwait crisis.

IZVESTIYA (30.6.61) similarly said that Qasim's claim had brought about "unexpected changes in the situation" regarding Kuwait; it had evoked a "hostile reaction" in the UAR and Saudi Arabia, and the UAR Government, according to Western reports, had expressed its opposition to the annexation of Kuwait.

In a dispatch from Cairo dated 1st July PRAVDA (2.7.61) said that the Iraqi Government had that day officially denied reports that Iraqi forces were concentrated on the Iraq-Kuwait frontier; the landings of British forces in Kuwait were "absolutely unjustified".

Subsequent Soviet comments on the Kuwait issue supported both the Iraqi and the UAR points of view by presenting the main issue as that of the withdrawal of British forces from Kuwait, as allegedly threatening the security of Iraq and the Arab countries in general. Concern for the fate of Kuwait's oil was represented as the dominant element in the attitude of Britain and the USA to the crisis. PRAVDA's Cairo correspondent (13.7.61) suggested that a motive in sending British forces to Kuwait was to apply pressure on the Iraqi Government in the oil question:

> "In Cairo, as in London, there had been rumours that the Iraqi Government was preparing plans for the nationalization of the Iraqi Petroleum Company. The British were frightened to death. Now the IPC hopes with the aid of the British troops, which are now on the Iraqi frontier and threaten the independence of Iraq, to apply pressure on the Iraqi Government in the oil question."

With so much to say on the issues of oil and of the presence of British forces in Kuwait, Soviet commentators have needed to say little about the actual issue between Iraq and Kuwait. The PRAVDA dispatch quoted above expressed the view that, after the withdrawal of British

forces, it was for the Arabs themselves to settle this dispute. On the issues of Kuwait's accession to the UN and her relations with the Arab League no comment was published in the Soviet press (up to 1st August). The extreme view expressed by the Soviet delegate Zorin in the Security Council, that "under the conditions of full control by the British authorities over the administration of Kuwait it cannot constitute a sovereign state" (IZVESTIYA 7.7.61), has not been repeated in so many words in Soviet press comment. The way in which the matter is presented in the Soviet press (which has not in fact made a full-scale propaganda issue of it) contrives to give the appearance of support to both UAR and Iraqi demands, while the central issue between Iraq and Kuwait is scarcely touched on.

Earlier Soviet accounts of Kuwait Soviet accounts of Kuwait lend no support to the Iraqi claim that, under the Turks, Kuwait was part of the vilayet of Basrah. L.N. Kotlov and Z.I. Levin, in THE LAST COLONIES IN ASIA (Moscow 1958, p.17), say that in 1829 Kuwait accepted Ottoman sovereignty, but this "in effect only amounted to paying tribute to the Turkish Sultan". In 1898, the same authors say, the Turkish Sultan tried to "occupy Kuwait", but this attempt was frustrated by the British.

As regard the separate existence of Kuwait as a state, Soviet writers have indeed maintained that all the Persian Gulf shaykhdoms owe their continued existence to Britain. But their incorporation in Saudi Arabia, rather than in any other Arab state, seems to have been in mind, as for instance when Ye. Primakov (THE COUNTRIES OF ARABIA AND COLONIALISM, Moscow 1946, pp.43-4) praises the Wahhabis' aspiration to unite Arabia and says that Britain did everything to prevent "the progressive process of liquidating the parcelling out of Arab amirates and forming strong centralized self-governing states". However, the Soviet view of the rise of Saudi power in Arabia now seems to be less favourable (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.6 of 1961, pp.1-3).

Occasional Soviet references to pro-Iraqi sentiment in Kuwait, or to earlier Iraqi notions on the incorporation of all or part of Kuwait in Iraq, exhibit no clearly defined or consistent Soviet view on the matter. Thus Kotlov and Levin (op. cit., p.19) say that when in June 1938 the Young Kuwaiti movement came out in opposition to British rule, "part of the Young Kuwaitis demanded that Kuwait should be annexed to Iraq, in which at that period the national and democratic movement was making great advances, and the others insisted on the complete independence of the principality". The same authors (p.25) say that in 1956 the Shaykh of Kuwait refused to cede to Iraq a Kuwaiti island which Nuri as-Sa'id's Government wanted in order to facilitate the shipping of oil from Basrah. (Note: In reality, no such "Kuwaiti island" existed; the proposal was for the construction of an Iraqi oil terminal in Kuwaiti waters.) B.M. Dantsig (IRAQ PAST AND PRESENT, Moscow 1960, p.55) says

that in 1958 the leaders of the Hashimite Federation of Iraq and Jordan had talks about "the inclusion of Kuwait in the Hashimite Federation". I.A.Genin (SOUTH-WEST ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA, Moscow 1960, pp.189-190) says that in February 1959, in reply to the "unbridled anti-Iraqi campaign" then in progress, counter-demonstrations were held in Kuwait under the slogans of strengthening friendship with the Iraqi Republic, liquidating the protectorate treaty with Britain and placing the activity of the Kuwait Oil Company under the control of the government of Kuwait. This reference to pro-Iraqi sentiment in Kuwait is of some interest, since it has the appearance of having been inserted by the writer to counter-balance a previous reference to Kuwaiti support for Egypt at the time of the Suez intervention.

Apart from taking note of the latter episode of Kuwaiti support for Egypt, Soviet writers have not referred to pro-Egyptian sentiment in Kuwait. They speak of the Kuwaiti people's "feelings of brotherly solidarity with the peoples of the Arab countries", but not of any concrete demands for union with other Arab countries. As regards the Kuwaiti government, a recent Soviet article on the Gulf states (AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No.5 of 1961, p.11) represented the Shaykh of Kuwait as an autocrat who kept in the hands of himself and his family the greater part of the state's oil revenues; but, writing in 1958, Kotlov and Levin (op. cit., p.25) observed that in 1953 the Shaykh had supported a proposal to use Kuwaiti oil revenue to finance the development of Arab League member states, and also had "refused to support a British plan for a federation of the Persian Gulf states". The stages in the movements for "democratization" of the Kuwaiti government have been chronicled (see MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.1 of 1959, p.8), but the movement has been represented as constitutional and anti-protectorate rather than revolutionary. The main preoccupations of Soviet writers on Kuwait, however, have been to denounce Kuwait's British connection and to depict the people of Kuwait, and above all the oil workers, as shamelessly oppressed and exploited in the interests of "the imperialist oil monopolies". In the Soviet press the facts of the present situation are accordingly twisted to fit this picture, so that little need be said about those real elements of the dispute which are embarrassing for Soviet policy and intractable for Soviet propagandists.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on Middle East events appearing in Soviet newspapers during the period 15th June - 28th July.

Kuwait For Soviet reports on the Kuwait dispute, see the second article in this issue.

Iraq A Soviet delegation led by the Foreign Minister of the RSFSR, S.G. Lapin, attended the Iraqi revolution anniversary celebrations in Baghdad (PRAVDA 12.7.61). In Moscow the Iraqi Charge d'Affaires gave a reception (PRAVDA 14.7.61) and a meeting was held in the House of Friendship with Peoples of Foreign Countries (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 14.7.61). In a short article in PRAVDA (14.7.61) P. Demchenko had most to say about Soviet aid to Iraq. On Iraq's domestic policy he spoke of the need to fight against "the intrigues of imperialist and anti-republican forces", but otherwise made no reference to the political situation.

PRAVDA (19.7.61) reported the opening at Salman Pak, near Baghdad, of the Al-Hurriyah ("Freedom") radio station, built with Soviet aid under the Soviet-Iraqi economic and technical cooperation agreement.

UAR No further Soviet newspaper articles criticizing UAR policies appeared during this period. PRAVDA (18.6.61) published excerpts of telegrams sent by Khrushchev and Brezhnev to President Nasir, and the latter's replies. Khrushchev expressed confidence that fruitful cooperation and friendship between the Soviet Union and the UAR would continue to grow, in the interests of both peoples and of world peace; President Nasir said that he had no doubt that such cooperation and friendship were one of the main foundations of "peace based on justice and the freedom and equality of peoples".

On 13th July the new UAR Ambassador to the Soviet Union, who had presented his credentials the previous day, laid a wreath in the Lenin Mausoleum (PRAVDA 13 and 14.7.61).

PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA (16.6.61) published, without comments, an account of the preliminary agenda of the Conference of Non-Aligned States to be held in Yugoslavia, as agreed by the preparatory conference held in Cairo. The conditions for admission to the conference, including the stipulation that participants must not enter a bilateral alliance with any great power, were reported in IZVESTIYA only. The report was headed "For the calling of a conference of states not participating in military blocs".

On the occasion of the UAR's Revolution Day, 23rd July, Khrushchev and Brezhnev sent messages of congratulations and good wishes to President Nasir (PRAVDA 22.7.61). At the invitation of the UAR Directorate of Information, a delegation of Soviet journalists attended the celebrations; B.S. Burkovyy, head of the Soviet news agency Novosti, led the delegation (PRAVDA 27.7.61). In Moscow the Military Attaché of the UAR Embassy gave a reception (PRAVDA 25.7.61). In a comment on the anniversary S. Kondrashov (IZVESTIYA 23.7.61) said much about Soviet aid in the development of the UAR's economy, and was complimentary about the UAR's foreign policy: "No one now has any doubts that the UAR is an indepen-

dent state and that it speaks with its own voice. By its policy of positive neutrality, non-participation in blocs, and struggle against imperialism it has won authority in the world." In PRAVDA (23.7.61) I. Belyayev reviewed the growth of Arab-Soviet friendship, which he said "has now become for the UAR a vital necessity". He said that Anwar as-Sadat, President of the UAR National Assembly, had told him that there were good prospects for the growth of Arab-Soviet relations.

Lebanon PRAVDA (27.6.61) published an account of the ceremony in Beirut at which Antoine Tabet was presented with his Lenin Prize by Academician D.V. Skobel'tsyn.

Israel Soviet newspapers continued to publish articles demanding the punishment of Eichmann's "accomplices" allegedly "now at large in Western Germany" and occupying high posts in the West German Government. In particular, V. Krymskiy (PRAVDA 23.6.61) said that PRAVDA had been receiving many letters from Soviet citizens, including Jews, denouncing the Israeli Government for "collusion" with "the neo-fascists of Bonn" in allegedly concealing evidence which incriminated persons now in Western Germany.

TRUD (4 and 8.7.61) reported the strike of Israeli railway workers demanding better pay and working conditions, and the successful conclusion of the strike when most of the workers' demands were met. Tass (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 20.7.61) reported that "some thousands" of electricity workers, despite the Histadrut's opposition, had declared a 24-hour strike, demanding better pay and working conditions.

PRAVDA (30.6.61) reported that the Soviet Foreign Ministry had asked for the recall of Sharet Yakov, First Secretary of the Israeli Embassy in Moscow, who had "engaged in espionage activity". He had visited various regions of the Soviet Union and "established espionage contacts and illegally distributed anti-Soviet Zionist literature". He had been "caught red-handed" when taking delivery of secret documents.

Persia The main themes of Soviet comment on the situation in Persia were those of popular dissatisfaction with the internal and foreign policy of the new government, and the growth of sentiment in favour of a policy of neutrality.

Discontent among the peasants and the inadequacy of the new agrarian reform legislation were the subject of an article in KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA (20.7.61) by D. Kasatkin. Under the agrarian reform law passed in March, said Kasatkin, the size of land holdings was limited; but landowners could either, by paying "an insignificant tax", keep all

their excess acreage in their own hands, or sell it to the state at an agreed price. The landlord could of course prolong the ensuing price negotiations indefinitely, meanwhile avoiding any payment of the land tax. The basic problem of large landownership was untouched by the law, which was only designed to give the peasants a false impression that reforms were in progress, and thereby to distract their attention from the struggle for a genuine agrarian reform.

IZVESTIYA (28.6.61) said that recently 5,000 Persian peasants had "blocked the road from Tehran to the Caspian in protest against the activities of the landlords"; the latter had cut off the peasants' water supplies because they had not voted for them in the elections. Such incidents "indisputably prove that great changes are taking place in the outlook of the downtrodden Persian peasantry".

Persian newspaper articles calling for a neutral foreign policy and Persia's withdrawal from CENTO were widely quoted by Soviet commentators. Thus, according to BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY (23.6.61), PEYGHAME EMRUZ had stated that "the time has come to ask the Foreign Ministry to relegate the CENTO Pact to the archives for good"; SEDAYE MARDOM had said that "Persia is on the eve of an explosion...against the insolent and unscrupulous foreigners who are plundering our country"; ERADZE AZERBAYDZHAN had said that Persia should seek to build up a sound national economy by seeking the assistance of the countries which were building India's Bhilai steelworks, Egypt's High Dam, etc.; and DUNYAYE JADID, addressing the Americans, had said that Persia had reached the limit of its patience with the appalling economic situation, "which can only be restored to normal by your departure." These and similar statements were also quoted in an article by A. Arabadzhyan, calling for a neutral policy for Persia (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 5.7.61; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 7.7.61; KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 15.7.61).

IZVESTIYA (27.7.61) published a three-column article, signed "Observer", which gave an account of the suppression of the National Front demonstrations of 21st July in Tahran, and indignantly denied Persian allegations that Soviet incitement was partly to blame for the demonstrations. The following are some extracts from the article.

(On army and police action against the demonstrators) "This action was planned in advance and carried out in cold blood. Its purpose was to frighten the people of Persia, who are intensifying their struggle to bring their country back on to the way of an independent policy, the way of liberation from the fetters of economic and political dependence on foreigners...On the boulevard near the racecourse by 6 o'clock, in spite of the police, there were between 5,000 and 6,000 people. They came to express their urgent demands, in particular the demand for elections to the Majlis, which is stubbornly opposed by the rulers of Persia. Truncheons and rifle-butts were used by the police against the peaceful

demonstrators, causing clashes. The police called on the troops for help. Demonstrators could be heard shouting slogans in honour of the former Premier Mosaddeq, who is regarded as the spiritual father of the National Front. 'Victory or death!' and other slogans were heard... It was nine o'clock before the army and police succeeded in dispersing the demonstrators. There were many arrests. One need only add that the Shah and Premier Amini were fully in touch with the events...and that those leading the operations against the demonstrators were in constant radio and telephone communication with them. They both, by the way, categorically demanded pitiless brutality against the people. The Persian rulers' brutal treatment of peaceful demonstrators cannot fail to evoke profound indignation in the hearts of the friends of the people of Persia, and of all people of good will...Only rulers whose position is shaky are capable of resorting through fear to such rash measures in order to prolong their inglorious rule. It is not without reason that it is now being said in Tehran that politically the Shah and Amini have disgraced themselves in the eyes of the whole world."

(On Persian complaints of Soviet interference) "Some Persian papers launched a venomous anti-Soviet campaign, accusing the Soviet Government of...inciting the people to revolt and disturbances...They claimed that on 21st July Moscow radio had been giving out instructions all day telling people to start disturbances and start a revolution...One can reply to these provocative statements in the words of an eastern proverb: There is apparently not a drop left in the jar of Mr. Amini's sense. The only thing coming from this jar is the stinking smell of decay, which has long poisoned the atmosphere of Soviet-Persian relations...As far as the Moscow broadcasts of 21st July are concerned, of course they contained no calls for the people of Persia to start a revolt or disturbances. But these broadcasts gave the truth about Persia, the truth about the pillaging of the Persian people by foreign plunderers who are given a free hand, with Amini's blessing...No, Mr. Amini, your cheap tricks will not deceive even the must gullible Tehran bazaar-dweller. It is not difficult to see that this gross anti-Soviet provocation was launched by the Persian Government to avoid responsibility for the disgraceful atrocities against peaceful people on 21st July and to strengthen the military and police regime in Persia."

(On Soviet-Persian relations) "According to the foreign press, Amini, on the Shah's instructions, called on the US Ambassador on the eve of these events in Tehran and conferred with him on means to put down the peaceful demonstration and organize an anti-Soviet hue and cry. The plans are clear: the USA is trying to push the Persian ruling circles into worsening Persia's relations with the Soviet Union, so as to complicate the situation on the southern borders of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to such provocations launched to the detriment of peace and security in the Middle East. The responsibility for the events of 21st July rests wholly and completely with

the Persian Government. As for the Persian people, the Soviet people entertain the best of feelings for them. The Soviet Union was the first country to recognize Persia's equality and to scrap the enslaving treaties which humiliated the national dignity of Persians. The Soviet Union has always remained loyal to the good neighbour policy. The Soviet people wholeheartedly wish the Persian people success in their courageous struggle to bring their country back to the road of an independent policy, in the struggle for national independence, democratic freedom and a better future for Persia."

Turkey The political situation in Turkey was the subject of an article by V. Popov in KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA (15.7.61). A year ago, said Popov, the mass of the people had welcomed the assumption of power by the representatives of the army who had overthrown the regime of Bayar and Menderes; but now the picture had changed. Many were now dissatisfied with the policy of the National Unity Committee. The partisans of the suppressed Democratic Party had begun to raise their heads. The NUC had given formal effect to many of its promises of a year ago: it had allowed political party activity (although demonstrations and student meetings were banned), had caused a new Constitution and electoral law to be framed, and had undertaken to hand over power to the government which emerged from the elections to be held in October. The Republican People's Party was confident of victory in the elections; but could it satisfy the hopes which the overthrow of the Menderes government had given rise to among the mass of the population? The students hoped for an increase in their miserly allowances; the peasants dreamt of receiving their own plots of land; the workers demanded the right to strike and an end to unemployment; all wanted social justice and a more equitable division of material benefits. After the coup d'etat it was widely felt that none of the existing political parties was capable of bringing about the necessary social and economic changes. In the NUC itself a group of 14 officers headed by Col. Turkes wanted an effective social programme of agrarian reform, tax reform, health services, rights for labour, etc.; but in November last year this group was ejected from the Committee. This finished any idea of social and economic reforms, although these continued to be demanded; a new Istanbul newspaper TANIN had voiced the people's demands for social justice and democracy. Popov concluded his article with some observations on Turkey's foreign policy; there were many indications, he said, that the declarations by the new leaders of Turkey about return to the principles of Ataturk and the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union were "far from fulfilment".

A. Stupak, in a comment on the results of the referendum (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 18.7.61), noted that most of the population in the central and eastern provinces had voted for the new Constitution, while the majority of votes in the northern and western provinces had gone against it. He quoted YENI SABAH for the view that the results were "a serious warning

to the political parties on the eve of the elections, and an admonition to them to pursue a policy according with Turkey's national interests".

BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY (10.6.61) reported that 22 persons had been arrested in Istanbul, and 13 in Bursa, for alleged Communist propaganda; they included doctors and engineers. IZVESTIYA (11.7.61) reported that the journalist Aziz Nesin and the editor of TANIN Ihsan Ada had spent two months in prison, having been arrested for spreading Communist propaganda; a commission of "specialists" had detected "left-wing opinions" in articles by Nesin. Later (23.7.61) IZVESTIYA reported that two teachers in Istanbul schools had been arrested for sending congratulations to Gagarin on his space flight.

Anti-Communism in Turkey was the subject of long articles in PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA. P. Alekseyev (IZVESTIYA 15.7.61) said that the military command in Istanbul had recently announced the arrest of "an underground group of 22 Communists"; the wave of arrests was spreading. According to one newspaper, the government was launching a "campaign against Communism", and statements by Ankara radio about "Communists in disguise" lent colour to this. The Soviet public well knew that the aim of this anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign (reactionary propaganda about "threats from the north" was now much in evidence) was to justify certain political circles in renouncing their promises to return to the principles of Ataturk and to work for good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union. The newspaper HUR VATAN had even published an article, by one Birgit, alleging that "Moscow sympathizes with the Menderes-Bayar clique". Such impudent and lying falsehoods were designed to distract the attention of the Turkish public from the catastrophic situation into which Turkey had been brought by the policy of military pacts and dependence on the USA. Khrushchev had from the first expressed the hope of better Turkish-Soviet relations following the advent to power of the new Turkish Government, and Gen. Gursel had reciprocated these sentiments; but such things as the establishment of US rocket bases on Turkish territory, and "the rabid anti-Communist and anti-Soviet witch-hunt which, as if by command, is being conducted by the Turkish press and radio", showed that "Turkey's policy has recently begun to slip down again into the old Menderes rut". From this, said Alekseyev in conclusion, no good could come for Turkey.

An article in PRAVDA (27.6.61), signed "Journalist", was on the same lines as the above. It said that a "wave of anti-Communist hysteria" was now affecting Turkey; this recalled the "McCarthyism" of the Menderes regime, under which anyone who complained of shortages, demanded the right to strike, or praised the scientific achievements of the Soviet Union was reckoned to be a Communist. The question was whether the ruling circles of Turkey could "find in themselves sufficient wisdom" to put an end to these dangerous trends inspired from outside, and would choose the only sensible road of peace and good-neighbourly relations

with the Soviet Union; the sooner this happened, the better, "above all for Turkey itself".

Cyprus Yu. Kuznetsov, in an article in PRAVDA (29.6.61), noted that Archbishop Makarios when visiting Cairo had stated that the British were not at liberty to use their bases in Cyprus for attacks on the Arab countries. This, said Kuznetsov, had led to questions and explanations in the House of Commons, and in Cyprus newspapers claiming to speak for the Turkish minority had greeted Makarios' statements with undisguised hostility, claiming that in effect "Cyprus cannot be neutral, and all neutral states are weapons of Moscow", and implying that Cyprus should join either NATO or CENTO. There was no doubt, said Kuznetsov, that such voices did not represent the majority of the Cypriots, whose feelings were truly represented at the recent meeting of the Cypriot committee of peace defenders, which demanded that the Cypriot Government should make every effort for the rapid liquidation of the British bases.

A F R I C A

SOME SOVIET VIEWS ON THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN AFRICA

The Vatican is the main target for attack by Soviet writers when they discuss the role of Christianity in Africa, but all missionary activity is described as a weapon of imperialist policy in enslaving the Africans. The LARGE SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA in 1954 said that "from the 16th century missionary work became one of the means of establishing and consolidating the colonial system", that "after the Second World War the missionary activity of the Vatican and of the overwhelming majority of protestant missionaries was subordinated mainly to the interests of American imperialism", and that "the missions are used by the imperialist powers in their struggle with the growing national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries".

Missionaries and colonization In a recent article ("The Vatican against the Independence and Freedom of the Peoples", KOMMUNIST No. 5 of 1961) I. Kravchenko and S. Efirov say that for centuries the Vatican and the secular authorities have found it mutually profitable to act together in the colonies, but that now that colonialism is discredited the Vatican is being forced to change its tactics and make efforts to "mask its connections with colonialism without in fact breaking with it"; however whatever the Vatican may say, history shows that not only did the Catholic Church always act jointly with the colonialists but it was the Spanish theologian de Vittoria who first put forward in the 15th century a detailed theory justifying colonization in the name of converting the pagans to Christianity. But besides being one of the supports of colonialism, Kravchenko and Efirov continue, the Catholic Church had its own tasks: "to 'convert' all the peoples of the earth, to subjugate them to its 'spiritual' and as far as possible political influence and, finally, to receive the maximum material benefits in the colonies". Dr. I.I. Potekhin, discussing the role of missionaries in Africa in GHANA TODAY (Moscow, 1959), says: "The majority of them came to Africa with the firm intention of furthering the colonial seizures of the powers that sent them. They supplied the powers that sent them with intelligence material, persuaded tribal chiefs to accept the 'protection' of the respective European power, blunted their vigilance, wove intrigues, etc. A minority came with the humane purpose of spreading the best achieve-

ments of European culture among the African peoples...But they all in the final result independently of their personal convictions played the role of accomplices of the European colonialists." As an example of the "purely imperialistic aims of the missionaries" B.I. Sharevskaya (PROBLEMS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND ATHEISM, Vol. I, Moscow, 1950) describes the rivalry between French Catholic and British Protestant missionaries in Buganda in the 1880s and 1890s which "reflected the struggle of the imperialist powers for this very rich country". She says that after Britain triumphed "the ministers of both churches went over entirely to the service of the colonial administration".

Missionary schools According to Soviet writers the colonialists encouraged missionary education since it taught the Africans to be submissive to their authority. The entry in the LARGE SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA in 1954 under "Missionary Schools" states that they "are used by the colonialists to consolidate their rule under the guise of preaching Christianity", that their main purpose "is the education of the children of the native population in a spirit of submissive obedience to their masters and the authorities", that most of the instruction is in religion, and that much time is taken up "in religious services and unpaid labour by the pupils on the plantations of the missionary organizations". Potekhin seems to be the only Soviet writer who concedes that the contribution of the missions in Africa has not been wholly negative. After his visit to Ghana in 1957 he wrote (GHANA TODAY) that "no one can deny the benefits they have given to the peoples of Africa" as "pioneers of education" and in the development of the written form of many African languages, but "it must not be overlooked either that they warped the minds of their congregation (they continue to do this even now)" and "missionary schools, particularly at the initial stages of colonialism, were a component of the colonial machine of ideological subjugation of the enslaved peoples". Furthermore "the missionaries inflicted enormous damage on the development of African culture" by declaring it to be inferior. Potekhin states further that "the preponderance of missionaries in education was one of the reasons for that social and historical fact that the collapse of the colonial system began later in Africa than in Asia". The contribution of missionaries in the field of health seems to be completely ignored by Soviet writers.

Separatist movements Sharevskaya (op. cit.) dealt at some length with the African separatist churches in British territories to which, she said, most African Christians belong. At first the separatist movement had "only a religious and narrowly sectarian character", but after the 1914-1918 war it became a channel for social and political dissatisfaction. She cited Harris in West Africa, the "Israelite" sects in South Africa and Harry Tuku's East African Association among the Kikuyu as examples of religious movements of an essentially anti-colonial character

which were persecuted by the colonial authorities; they showed that the results of Christian propaganda were not always what "the colonialists and their ecclesiastical agents expected". Sharevskaya went on, however, to state that "as a rule Christian propaganda and in particular the Christian Church organization shows the most complete readiness to be led by the colonial administration". She cited the Church of Christ in South Africa headed by Bishop James Limba as a typical example of a separatist church in the 1940s "which does not arouse misgivings on the part of the government". This organization, she said, is a big commercial undertaking owning many farms, warehouses and shops with Limba enjoying uncontrolled exploitation of about 15,000 sectarian workers; the class nature of his activity protects Limba and the government does not doubt his loyalty. Sharevskaya declared that, attractive though the separatist movement may be to certain strata of African society with its "fiction of a certain freedom and equality", it "distracts them from the only reliable path - the class and national liberation struggle". However, she concluded:

> "The illusory nature of these religious protests is becoming more and more clear to the broad popular masses. The masses begin to understand that both the old cults and the official Christian churches, and the new sects in various ways and in different forms but essentially in equal measure, support the supremacy of the imperialist colonial system and the class yoke, furthering the maintenance of racial discrimination."

I.P. Lavretskiy (PROBLEMS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND ATHEISM, Vol. 6, Moscow, 1958) describes other separatist movements in Africa such as Kimbanguism, Garveyism and Kitawala. The religious colouring of these anti-imperialist movements, he says, "testified to their backwardness" but despite their limitations they "awakened the consciousness of the local population oppressed by imperialism".

"Bantu-ized Christianity" Sharevskaya has devoted two long articles to refuting theories about African society put forward by Catholic missionaries. The first target of her strictures (SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No. 6 of 1959) was the journal and institute Anthropos, founded by Father Wilhelm Schmidt and "in the closest way connected with the propaganda activity of the Catholic Church". At the beginning of the 20th century, she says, with religion losing ground to science, the Church realized it would have to come to terms with science and changed over from groundless vilification to "Trojan horse tactics". Sharevskaya devotes a considerable amount of space to Schmidt himself "because of his originality and importance in bourgeois ethnography" and tells how the journal and the institute Anthropos were founded. The journal, she says, had a twofold task: "to modernize missionary propaganda...to enter the field of science about primitive society...and to put it at the service of the

interests of religion". Sharevskaya ridicules Schmidt's methodology and the scientific value of his theories about primitive society, saying that by an arbitrary and tendentious selection of the facts he made them fit the church's teaching. His theory was declared "the greatest discovery of the 20th century" and "for a long time bourgeois scholars of various countries discussed it, although to any unprejudiced reader even slightly acquainted with ethnographic material the 'scientific weight' of W. Schmidt's whole work immediately becomes clear". She concedes that many of the contributions to the journal contain valuable factual information on backward societies, but the contributors are hopelessly wrong when it comes to general problems of principle and philosophy. Though some of Schmidt's theories have now been discredited and there is talk of a reorientation in the institute's work, it is still just "theology camouflaged by science" and an attempt "to place science at the service of religion and the interests of the exploiting classes hiding behind it".

Sharevskaya's other target (SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No. 6 of 1960) is Father R.P. Placide Tempels' book LA PHILOSOPHIE BANTUE published in Elisabethville in 1945. It is clear that she is disturbed by the enormous success the book has enjoyed among the African intelligentsia. She starts by saying that with the success of the national liberation movement the "ideologists of colonialism" have had to make a radical revision in their views on indigenous African culture. As the politicians of neo-colonialism now pose as friends of the Africans to get control of the liberation movement, "so their scholar henchmen in cassocks or without cassocks try now to give such an interpretation to indigenous African culture as will allow neo-colonialism to attract to its side the young African intelligentsia and use it in its political aims". Father Tempels' book is an example of this. Tempels was worried by the superficial and temporary nature of many conversions to Christianity and stated that it was necessary to understand Bantu "philosophy" to get anywhere. Sharevskaya ridicules the discovery of the "vital force" in each object, which Tempels asserts is at the basis of Bantu "metaphysics", and says that his conclusions are "empty, far-fetched and utterly unscientific". His statement that the Bantus think the white man has a superior "vital force" because of his technical power is described by Sharevskaya as "convenient and pleasant for the colonialists". Tempels extols the "philosophical system" of the Bantu and also tries to convince readers of its nearness to Christianity, but, says Sharevskaya, the Bantu are not sufficiently developed to have a philosophical system. Tempels has thought up his theory in order to convince the colonialists that "the missionaries are still very suitable for the colonialists' work of 'civilization'" and the missionaries that they should be more flexible and offer a "Bantu-ized Christianity". Sharevskaya describes one aspect of the book in particular as a cunning manoeuvre to win the trust of the young African intelligentsia. This is the rehabilitation of local religions. "The 'scientific' works of Catholic missionaries,

which prove that local religions contain elements inherent in so-called higher religions, seem to some African scholars and public figures a demonstration of the humanism and anti-racialism of the Catholic Church." Tempels also suggests that the Bantu seek not material benefits but recognition of their human dignity, and that Bantu civilization will become Christian or cease to exist. Sharevskaya states that the danger of such "pseudo-scientific" theories is that their authors "lead or try to lead Africans away from the development of a true culture...and towards a deepening of a backward fantastic conception of the world", but she ends with the comforting thought that "the 'good tidings' of Father Tempels are clearly too late" and nothing can prevent the collapse of colonialism.

The Church and the liberation movement Kravchenko and Efirov state that in order to avoid a repetition of its failure in Asia the Vatican is devoting a large proportion of its material and manpower resources to Africa and, even more necessary, is adopting new tactics. Firstly, it expresses support for the liberation movement. Statements to this effect are "a reflection of the pressure of the broad mass of Catholics taking part in the liberation movement" and "are dictated by the unconcealed desire to control the liberation movement". Secondly, particular attention is being paid to the training of native clergy and a number of Africans have been given high ecclesiastical rank. Thirdly, the Church tries to create a secular "elite" by organizing Catholic trade unions, political parties and schools of various kinds, and it seeks to get the tribal leaders and others on its side. But, say Kravchenko and Efirov, the results are not always what the Church expected. Some of those educated in Catholic schools reject the policy of the imperialists, and even the establishment of native clergy is a "double-edged weapon"; although they are of great assistance to the Vatican in adapting itself to local conditions "they sometimes spring unpleasant surprises on the leadership of the Catholic Church by joining in the anti-colonial struggle".

Lavretskiy enlarges on some of these points. He states that the Papal Encyclical Fidei Donum of 1957 clearly showed Vatican dissatisfaction with the course of the national liberation movement. The Pope tries to convince Africans that it is not imperialism but "atheistic materialism" that is their enemy, but the appeal to fight against communism has only one aim - "to turn the anger of the peoples away from their true enemies, the imperialists, and direct their struggle into a false channel". Catholic support for the liberation movement, he says, is expressed "with such reservations as reduce the very idea of independence to nil". The examples he quotes are an appeal from the bishops in Madagascar not to hate the colonialists and a warning from the Church in Tanganyika of difficulties ahead. Lavretskiy also claims that despite the Vatican's efforts to build up the native clergy it does not yet feel

it is safe "to summon European missionaries from Africa and leave the African flock in the power of the unreliable local clergy". Missionaries are therefore being asked to stay on as doctors, engineers, etc. or to train native experts; "in other words missionaries should subject to their influence the technical and scientific intelligentsia of new countries - that is the latest invention of missionary thought". Lavretskiy concedes that the Catholic Church in South Africa has come out unconditionally against apartheid, but claims that it is only a tactic to weaken the influence of the rival Dutch Lutheran Church and to raise its own authority among the population of black Africa. Lavretskiy also describes attempts by the Catholic Church in North Africa to get the Muslims on its side in the fight against communism. Once, he says, the Vatican preached crusades against Islam "but now, blinded by its anti-Communist hatred, the Vatican is ready to unite with adherents of other religions for the fight with the socialist camp". However, "progressive forces" in Islam have rejected the Vatican's appeals.

Kravchenko and Efirov assert that "despite all the attempts ... to disguise itself the Catholic Church has still not succeeded in concealing its organic connection with colonialism in all its forms". The Vatican invariably directly or indirectly supports American actions "directed against the freedom and national independence of the peoples", in Vietnam and Indonesia for example. It gives its blessing to slavery and the cruellest forms of exploitation in Portuguese colonies; in Kenya it supported the authorities in "the cruel suppression of the liberation struggle of the local population" (Mau Mau); and "in the Congo the Catholic hierarchy from the very beginning sowed discord and strove to disorganize the activity of the legal government". Mobutu, say Kravchenko and Efirov, receives financial support from the Vatican, Kambola of Katanga and Bomboko of the central government have visited the Holy See and one of the centres of intrigue against the Congo is Brazzaville, capital of the republic headed by "the Catholic priest Fulbert Youlou". In Algeria too, they say, "despite certain steps taken by a section of the Catholic clergy to dissociate itself from the colonial war ... on the whole the Catholic Church is against the national liberation struggle of the Algerian people". The Vatican has ignored appeals from the FLN, many French churchmen have approved the use of force and although the clergy issued a statement in October 1960 condemning the use of tortures it contained "not a shadow of condemnation of the colonial war in Algeria". Where the Church does not support the punitive measures of the colonialists, Kravchenko and Efirov continue, it tries to weaken the independence movement by telling the people not to hurry and forecasting all kinds of disasters. The Catholic Church realises that Marxism provides ready-made answers to the problems nearest to the Africans' hearts; "therefore the unbridled anti-communism characteristic of the policy and ideology of the Vatican as a whole assumes the wildest and most fanatic forms in the ideological work of the church in colonial and liberated countries".

Kravchenko and Efirov sum up by saying: "The present position of the Catholic Church in regard to the national liberation struggle of peoples of colonial countries is contradictory. Its true sympathies are on the side of the colonial powers as before, but it realizes that the days of colonialism are numbered, it realizes that only in 'national dress' is it possible to gain influence and predominant positions in the countries liberating themselves. Therefore it flirts with the national movement". The duality in the Church's positions is caused by the radical difference in the strivings of the Church hierarchy and the mass of Catholics in colonial and dependent countries. The overwhelming mass of the latter "fight passionately against the colonialists" and "gradually perceive the ominous double-dealing policy of the Vatican".

Christianity and the African The Soviet view of missionaries as agents of colonialism springs naturally from the Leninist doctrine that religion is a tool of the exploiting classes. In Soviet writing Christianity is above all denounced as the religion of the colonial rulers of Africa; little is said about it as the religion of Africans themselves. No Soviet writer could admit that Christianity has favourably influenced the moral, social and political views of African believers. That separatist African Churches have promoted the growth of African national sentiment is grudgingly admitted, but for this no credit is given to Christianity; they are represented as merely vehicles for the expression of popular discontent. This accords with the general Soviet view of religion as a political force (see "The Soviet Approach to Islam", MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.8 of 1960). That the Soviet condemnation of Christianity in Africa is not solely due to its Western missionary origins is shown by Soviet strictures on the Ethiopian Church; in so far as it is mentioned at all in Soviet accounts of Ethiopia, it is represented as one of the most reactionary forces supporting Ethiopian feudalism.

If, in the Soviet view, Africans should reject Christianity, to what spiritual or philosophical beliefs, whether native or imported, should they subscribe? As regards the philosophical concepts of the Bantu, at least, Sharevskaya (SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No.6 of 1960, p.53) is disparaging; she concedes that they do in fact have "an intellectual picture of the world", but implies that it is an inadequate one:

> "Among the least developed of these peoples the rudiments of philosophy, science, ethics and law are still closely interwoven with religious, supernatural and anthropomorphic notions. Among the most developed of the Bantu peoples, including evidently the Baluba, rudimentary concepts of science and philosophy have begun to crystallize, although it is not legitimate to speak of a philosophical system among peoples who have no written language."

Some thought has recently been given in the Soviet Union to the study of indigenous "materialist traditions" among the eastern peoples (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.7 of 1959). Passages in the works of eastern writers expressing apparent disbelief in God are eagerly seized upon. Obviously, it is difficult to do the same for Africa. However, an article by a Ghanaian who has rejected Christianity, E. Graves-Abayil, was published in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No.6 of 1960. Mr. Graves-Abayil attacked Christianity in general, and in particular contrasted the Christian rite of baptism with the name-giving ceremony among the Fanti. In a short comment on the article the Soviet editor remarked that the writer was correct in regarding Christian missionary activity as an ideological weapon of colonialism, and in seeing religion as contrary to science; but he was wrong in calling for the revival of old Ghanaian religious rites, in the shape of the Fanti name-giving ceremony which he described. To claim that this ceremony was non-religious and an expression of "sound moral and intellectual principles" was erroneous. However, the editor concluded, there was no doubt that in Ghana for some time progressive intellectuals had been trying to revive and develop the cultural heritage of their people, "including its traditional rites, completely divorcing them from any religious trappings, whether Christian or pre-Christian".

THE POPULAR PRESENTATION OF AFRICA IN THE SOVIET UNION

African news (mostly transmitted by TASS) became a regular feature of the Soviet press some three or four years ago, and both PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA now have their regular correspondents in Africa (O. Orestov, N. Khokhlov), as well as additional correspondents sent to conferences or to report special occasions. In 1960 KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA also began to print African news; TRUD has carried African items on labour and economic questions since about 1958. In addition to the news coverage by the daily press, a fairly sustained effort has been made by general journals to evoke some background ideas on the African continent for Russian readers, at first by the literary monthly DRUZHBA NARODOV, then in the much more widely read LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and in 1960 and 1961 in the popular illustrated weeklies KROKODIL and OGONEK (whose editor, Mr. A. Sofronov is on the committee of the Lumumba Friendship University). Travelogues by Soviet visitors, inaugurated by Dr. Potekhin's GHANA DIARY, 1958, appear from time to time. No English or French ones have been translated, however. Popular background booklets complete this type of material. Exhibitions are sometimes specially mounted in Moscow, Leningrad, and very occasionally in a provincial capital such as Kiev or Tashkent. Peter Abrahams' THE PATH OF THUNDER was made into a ballet

and Sembene Usman's OH MON PAYS, MON BEAU PEUPLE was filmed in 1961; the scenery was not shot in Africa.

Before commenting on what is printed, it is worth noticing what is not printed at all. News from Africa in the Soviet press, as one might expect, is highly selective, regardless of whether it comes merely by agency (i.e. TASS) messages, or from a newspaper's own correspondent. Certain African states and certain leaders are greater "news" favourites than others. If one tried to avoid the labels "committed", "uncommitted", and "positive neutrality", and to list instead what makes a state or leader a greater or lesser "news" favourite in the USSR, something like the following could tentatively be drawn up: refusal by a new state to negotiate for the renewal or continuance of military base agreements with the former metropolitan country or with members of NATO; withdrawal from the former metropolitan currency zone; entry into long-term trade or aid agreements with Warsaw Pact countries; choice of a single-party government at home; pressure for trade union and all other social organizations to be affiliated to the single governing party; a declared policy of social change by the government; support for the FLN, for the Lumumbist Congo or for the African insurgents in Angola, as part of one anti-imperialist front; condemnation of atomic tests by France in the Sahara. Fulfilment by a new African state of most or all of the above criteria generally speaking (Ethiopia is a major exception to this generalization) makes it into a state often regarded with favour by the Soviet press and journals, in contrast to other newly independent states on the African continent which seldom figure in the Soviet press at all. There was a striking example of such tactics of omission during May this year. A conference of representatives of 20 independent African states was held in Monrovia; it published a series of resolutions which included the members' views on Algeria, the Congo, Angola, the Sahara, as well as resolutions on more general questions of pan-Africanism. None of this was at the time reported in the Soviet daily press. As far as the Soviet reader is concerned, this whole range of influential African opinion, composed of individualistic and forceful personalities, might not exist.

The Africa presented for popular consumption has marked similarities with certain features of Soviet descriptive literature generally. Little evocative sketches, almost in a women's magazine style, present rather cloying pictures of bright-eyed youngsters eager to learn, or of supple men and women hurrying to work in their country's service in the rosy dawn of independence. This would be harmless enough were it not for an underlying admixture of poison by hints and overt statements that imperialists did and continue to do their best to thwart such a state of affairs and that Africans have to thank Lenin, the October Revolution and the present socialist camp countries for the rosy dawn and for its chance of emerging into bright day.

Soviet journalists face a dilemma when writing about contemporary Africa today. For better or for worse, Africa today is the result of shorter or longer periods of culture contact with Europe in its most intensive form, that of imperial rule. Certain features of this contact will prove more transitory than others; some will be and have been shaped to an African pattern. It is impossible to describe any of the new African states without them. And yet by firmly closing their eyes to all development carried out by the imperial powers, to all land reclamation schemes, roads, railways, airports, harbour development, the infrastructure of schools and hospitals, tsetse fly and malaria clearance and locust control measures, Soviet authors leave themselves (and their readers) with a peculiar idea of a 19th century Africa, the Africa of Stanley or of the Soviet explorer Kovalevskiy, with much space given to descriptions of material culture and folk customs. This is all the more curious since one of the criticisms which Soviet sociologists levy at western social anthropologists is that the latter concern themselves with minute description of tribal institutions in some selected locality which are dying out anyway. African professional classes appear little in the popular picture of Africa, since the same inability to concede anything constructive to the imperial contact inhibits Soviet journalists from featuring Western-educated African élites. Dr. Potekhin's GHANA DIARY (1958) can be exempted to a certain extent from these strictures, since he described the modern, technological side of Ghanaian life, and freely and quite vividly introduced members of Ghana's intelligentsia to his readers.

African art has been made fairly widely known, first in a small handbook for teachers (1958) and recently in an illustrated article in OGONEK (27.5.61) showing Benin bronzes, Baluba carvings and Ife terra-cottas, mainly from the small collection in the Leningrad Ethnographic Museum. It is difficult to know without regular access to internal broadcasting programmes whether anything similar has been done about African music.

Poems and short stories by African writers (in Russian translation) have appeared from time to time in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and in 1961 in OGONEK. The latter journal is designed in the main for the younger generation. Short profiles of selected writers, usually with photo-graphs, have also been published; a recent one was an article on 1st June in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on Mario de Andrade, Agostino Neto and Viriato Cruz, together with short translations from their poems. All the poems or stories which are selected to appear in the Soviet journals belong invariably to the "literature of protest" period of a writer's work or mood; no examples of the lyric of quest or communication ever reach the Soviet reader.

The presence in Moscow from time to time of delegations from African states, as well as the presence since 1960 of a sizeable body of students

from the African continent, mean that photographs of African personalities and of student groups appear much more frequently in the daily papers than has ever been the case before. Some of these photographs are dubbed (without the original person's knowledge or permission) and used for book or pamphlet covers; the most notorious case of this was the photograph of an African in boxing position, to whose wrists broken chain links were added. Press interviews with students often carry a photograph; phrases detrimental to Western countries are usually ascribed to the person interviewed. Last winter, after a letter of protest and criticism at their treatment in Moscow by a group of African students had appeared in PARIS-DAKAR and in several Western papers, a number of items on racial friction or on the loneliness of African student life in London and Paris were published in PRAVDA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

How far is the popular image of Africa for Russian readers determined by a desire to expatiate on the iniquities of the West? The answer is that with very few exceptions (such as the article on African art) this urge permeates everything. Very seldom is there a straightforward factual caption under a photograph or sketch, or an article into which "imperialists" or "neo-colonialists" are not dragged in. Such too is the hallmark at present of the Afro-Asian Solidarity organization which organize "Africa Days" on special occasions in Moscow and increasingly in the republican capitals. A "Day" usually consists of a meeting with speeches and social gatherings, and sometimes an exhibition or performance of folk art. The speeches in every recorded instance over the past two years devote as much time to the denunciation of imperialism as to the matter in hand. There are no signs that any popular image of Africa is being built up in its own right on uncommitted lines. This is particularly noticeable by contrast with the position in the former metropolitan countries, where the exhilarating process of "African discovery" in intellectual and psychological fields is well under way.

KROKODIL, a humorous weekly which is perhaps the most widely read journal in the Soviet Union, published an Africa number in the autumn of 1960, in which interest in Africa and Africans was entirely overlaid by slanderous venom against the former imperial countries. There is no need to comment on the cartoons mocking at "imperialists", but the "shorts" and a page of photographs must be cited. One (undated) news item stated that in Kenya the British administration built no schools for five years but built 129 prisons in the same period. Now even during the years of Mau Mau it is impossible to find five consecutive annual reports in which no new schools are recorded. The page of photographs is devoted to horror pictures of atrocities. All are undated (except one from the Italian-Abyssinian war of 1935), and no sources are given. On looking closely at three pictures grouped as South Africa, next to a picture of Sharpville, there is a riot picture which is clearly well before 1930, and one of hangings on an open gibbet which appeared originally in the

Blue Book of 1918 on the treatment of Africans in German South West Africa, which was one of the documents on which the original Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was founded. A Congo set of photographs has a picture of the Brussels exhibition of 1958, and with it pictures of Congo children with only one hand, displayed under "The Belgian authorities cut their hands off because their parents did not fulfil their work quotas". It is possible that these are hospital pictures from the Congo of Leopold II, but the inference readers are prompted to draw from their position next to the exhibition picture is that this is a sample of Belgian administration of the very recent past.

The following extract from a recent number of OGONEK illustrates most of the points raised in the foregoing paragraphs, and conveys the tone and atmosphere of the greater part of Soviet writing better than a number of short quotations scattered throughout the text might have done.

"Africa South of the Cape Verde Islands"

Travel notes by Leonid Stepanov from a cruise in the M.S. Estonia, published in OGONEK No. 20 of May 1961

...Dakar was the birthplace of the first trade unions and political organizations of the African proletariat. These played an active part in the initial stages of the struggle for political independence in Senegal. But the struggle is not yet over. The French colonialists, who have granted Senegal formal independence, have nevertheless managed to inflict on the newly born republic a dozen or more restrictive agreements of varying kinds, through which under the suitable label of "commonwealth or cooperation" it is possible to maintain the heavy chains of economic and to some extent of political dependence.

We walk through the dock gates and immediately meet those whom we have wanted for so long to see. Many of them hurry towards us: people who are different, who look unlike us, and yet who at the same time are familiar and near, very much our own kith and kin. Questing, kind eyes. Blue-black faces. Figures that are upright and graceful in any clothing - in a coloured cloak, a white boubou, or even in dirty rags ... But they meet us with frank expressions of mutual liking; snow-white teeth gleam, slim hands with long fingers are stretched out in greeting. Conversation is carried on by means of short French phrases, "international" exclamations, and gestures. The main thing is understood by all; friends have arrived from a country which helps Africans to obtain freedom. Hot hands form the two-coloured knot of a firm handclasp. The

dockers proudly pin on to their shirts the blue emblems of the dove of peace. Boys, gathering courage, ask for tourist cards of Moscow, Stalingrad and Kiev ... It is true there are others. They hold themselves apart and fear to come close. We understand everything and are not offended; these do not yet know us well, and are used to seeing a bully in every white man.

In common with other administrative centres of French West Africa, Dakar consists of two totally irreconcilable parts, which contrast with each other as black and white. Well-ordered parts of the town, built by the colonizers for their own use, strike the visitors with their grandeur, splendour and comfort. In the African sections, by contrast, there is crying need, maximum overcrowding, dirt and disease. In houses resembling huts, in squalid yards and filthy side alleys there are thousands of unemployed. Not only is there not enough work and bread for all, but even not enough shade from the burning rays of the sun. The whole pattern of living remains one in which human labour is rated very low. In the streets adjoining the market, and in the market itself, there is a multitude of homeless tramps, beggars and sick people. Tiny children squat among smelly rubbish, children who have no idea of toys. Little girls of eight or ten carry little brothers and sisters on their backs, running about in the full sunlight with them tightly strapped on their backs, with bare, dangling heads...

(After a further description of Dakar and of Abidjan, the author describes the arrival at Conakry.) After Senegal and the Ivory Coast, it was a great joy for each one of us to note in Conakry the absence of homeless tramps, of beggars, uncared-for children and sick people. Of course it is still possible to meet quite a number of badly dressed people in the streets of Conakry; many people still live in huts inherited from colonialism. A long time is needed to overcome these difficulties, but one thing is certain: the whole people is united as one in work, in a striving for a single goal ...

On the republic's territory there still remain industrial and commercial organizations of foreign firms, but they are under the inspection and supervision of the Guinea Government and are obliged to pay a portion of their profits to the government for the exploitation of Guinea's natural resources. Foreign trade is a state monopoly. The state controls wholesale trade and supervises about one half of total retail trade. Cooperatives play an ever increasing part. The three-year plan sets a target for the preferential development of state and cooperative property. The socialist camp countries render considerable aid to Guinea in fulfilling the targets of the three-year plan...

AFRICA IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on African affairs appearing in the Soviet press during the period 8th June - 15th July 1961.

Angola

Soviet newspapers published frequent reports on successes achieved against the Portuguese forces by the rebels in Angola. These were mostly based on Western news agency reports, but newspapers also quoted a communique issued from Conakry by the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), a statement made in Brazzaville by the MPLA committee member Azevedo, and a statement made in New York by the president of the UPA (Union of the Peoples of Angola) Alvaro Holden Roberto (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 29 and 18.6.61; IZVESTIYA 10.6.61).

Of the two main Angola nationalist movements, the MPLA is by far the more widely publicized in the Soviet press, and statements and articles by its president Mario de Andrade appear from time to time in Soviet newspapers. According to NEW TIMES (No. 50 of 1960) the Communist Party of Angola, formed in 1954, merged with Angola nationalist organizations in 1956 to form the MPLA. According to de Andrade himself (PRAVDA 6.2.61) the MPLA was formed by "leaders of the former group of Marxists and the Party of United Struggle of the Africans of Angola". A recent article by him in TRUD (14.7.61) ends with an appeal for the formation of a national front which will embrace all organizations, including the UPA. K. Ivanov, in an article on Angola (IZVESTIYA 7.6.61) quotes at some length from the programme of the MPLA, published as a brochure in April this year by Jean Oswald, Paris. Ivanov says he regrets that the programme of the UPA is not available to him, but that according to Western reports "its aims in general agree with those of the MPLA, but lay somewhat more emphasis on the tribes". (Note: According to Western sources, the UPA, which has its headquarters in Leopoldville, was the prime mover in the present revolt.) Another Angola underground organization, the National Union of Workers of Angola (UNTA), has been little mentioned in Soviet accounts so far, but an article by its secretary Pascal Luvualu appeared in PRAVDA of 30.4.61.

PRAVDA (16.6.61) reported a reply by Khrushchev to the message sent him by Mario de Andrade as president of the conference of nationalist organizations of the Portuguese colonies which was held in Casablanca. Khrushchev expressed the Soviet people's sympathy with the struggling people of Angola, and their confidence in their final victory.

PRAVDA (15.7.61) reported briefly a statement made in Cairo by John Sifimia, a leader of the UPA, who said that in Angola the "liberation

army" was already in occupation of large areas of the north of Angola, and its task was to keep these territories in its hands and then "finally to drive out of Angola all Portuguese armed forces".

Congo

PRAVDA (30.6.61) published a message sent by Khrushchev to Antoine Gizenga on the occasion of the first anniversary of Congolese independence. The past year, said Khrushchev, had "taught the Congolese people to distinguish friends from enemies"; it had shown that, to achieve victory, all patriotic forces of the nation must unite "on a democratic and anti-imperialist basis...around the government which you head, which is the only lawful government in the Congo Republic". PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA (30.6.61) published long articles on the anniversary which maintained that the past year's events in the Congo had "unmasked" the "Western colonialists"; they denounced the UN operation, and Mr. Hammarskjoeld in particular, in familiar Soviet terms; and expressed confidence that the Congolese people would finally achieve unity and independence. TRUD (30.6.61) published an article by Gabriel Attichogbui, of the press department of the Ghana Trade Union Congress, who said that the UN operation in the Congo had led to "treachery, violence, murders, war, untold sufferings and hunger", and went on to denounce Western aid to Africa as "bribery" which "only enriches the puppets".

The Soviet press continued to publish frequent reports from Stanleyville, based on dispatches from the Stanleyville correspondents of Tass, IZVESTIYA and the New China News Agency. Most of these were accounts of statements made by members of the Stanleyville government, particularly concerning the latter's demand for convening the Congolese parliament. The statement by the head of the UN mission which visited Stanleyville to discuss this question was reported at some length by Tass (SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 18.6.61) and the departure of the Stanleyville delegation for talks in Leopoldville was reported. IZVESTIYA's correspondent Khokhlov (28.6.61), however, said that government circles in Stanleyville did not conceal their disquiet about the outcome of these talks; the people had no trust in "the Kasavubu-Mobutu clique" or in the UN with its "tarnished reputation", and intrigues by the Belgians were much in evidence. In an interview with Khokhlov (IZVESTIYA 1.7.61) Gizenga said that some people considered the agreement to hold talks in Leopoldville as a sign of weakness and as "a result of our isolation"; today, he said, one might speak of isolation, "or even of a blockade of sorts", but by tomorrow the situation could change.

IZVESTIYA (18.6.61) published a long dispatch from Khokhlov on the situation in Stanleyville. The presence of the Belgians, he said, was not so obvious as it used to be, but none the less "the whole economy is as before in the hands of the Belgians", creating a "paradoxical" situa-

tion. The wealthy business men of Brussels were not opposed to cooperation with Gizenga's government, on even more profitable terms than under the colonial regime. Imperialist capital was turning the difficulties of the Congo Republic to its own profit; the owners of the coffee, tea and palm plantations were exporting their production without hindrance via the Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika. For Stanleyville the situation was one of "colossal difficulties". It was summed up in the word "blockade". "All roads from Stanleyville are open to the colonial businessmen; but they are firmly shut to the countries which wish to give unselfish aid to the Congolese people." Although many countries of Asia, Africa and Europe recognized Gizenga's government as the only lawful Congolese government, so far only two envoys, those of Mali and Yugoslavia, were accredited to it. At the same time there were five Western consuls in Stanleyville, nominally there for "the protection of their nationals", who were in fact "giving 'consular assistance' to the colonial machine and putting into operation the refined methods of the imperialist plunderers". Khokhlov went on to give an account of how, despite all difficulties, the Stanleyville government was giving effect to the ideas of "the great son of the Congo Patrice Lumumba", and was working for the unity and complete independence of the Congo.

Algeria

The French action in breaking off the Evian negotiations was represented by Soviet commentators as a proof of the French Government's bad faith and basic opposition to negotiations in the true sense of the word. IZVESTIYA's Paris correspondent S. Zykov (15.6.61) said that what had happened at Evian showed that the attitude of the French representatives was as before one of dictation, "demanding that the Algerian representatives should unreservedly accept their terms"; the negotiations had been "a manoeuvre by the French side...carefully thought out and prepared". Krim Belkacem's statement on the breakdown of the negotiations was reported at length (PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA 16.6.61).

Later in the month PRAVDA (28.6.61) and IZVESTIYA (29.6.61) published long articles reviewing the main subjects of disagreement between the two sides. PRAVDA said that, as regards the issue of the Sahara, the French were making use of the fact that the Algerian Sahara bordered on a number of African states - Tunisia, Libya, Niger, Mali, Mauritania and Morocco; they were trying to set these countries at odds with the provisional Algerian government, "promising them 'benefits' from the exploitation of the Sahara by Western monopolies provided they do not oppose the separation of this territory from Algeria". The French had made the Sahara into "an atomic polygon" and "a place d'armes of the imperialist monopolies against the African peoples". The Algerian side had put forward the reasonable view that, so long as France renounced its pretensions to sovereignty over the Sahara, its economic future

could be settled on a mutually agreed basis. As regards the future of the European minority in Algeria, the Algerian provisional government was prepared "to solve this question on the basis of humanity and justice", allowing them equal rights as Algerian citizens or appropriate rights if they chose to retain French citizenship. But the French wanted a privileged position for the European population, a special statute for particular towns where Europeans resided, perpetual occupation of the French military bases, the separation of the Sahara, a possible partition of the remaining territory and an iron framework of "association" with France. In breaking off the negotiations they were now placing their hopes on finding a pliable "third force" among Algerians which would accept their demands; but no "intrigues by the colonialists" could prevent the inevitable victory of the heroic Algerian people.

The Soviet press gave much publicity to the "Day of Struggle against the Partition of Algeria", 5th July, and denounced the "new crimes of the colonialists" in firing on Algerian demonstrators (PRAVDA 7.7.61). French suggestions for a partition of Algeria received much attention in Soviet newspapers; IZVESTIYA (7.7.61) claimed that it was intended that the greater part of the coastal belt should remain French.

Other Countries

Tunisia A Tass dispatch from Tunis (IZVESTIYA 13.7.61) gave an account of demonstrations in Tunisia demanding the withdrawal of French forces from Bizerta "and the regions of the Tunisian Sahara". Volunteers who would if necessary join "the battle for the evacuation of Bizerta" had been arriving in the town of Bizerta in large numbers; 1,660 had arrived so far, 400 were on the way, and the enrolment of volunteers was continuing. (Note: Soviet treatment of the Bizerta conflict will be reviewed in the next issue of the Newsletter.)

Brezhnev sent to Bourguiba a message of good wishes on the occasion of Tunisia's National Day (PRAVDA 8.6.61). A delegation of Soviet women visiting Tunisia at the invitation of the Tunisian women's union attended the National Day festivities. It consisted of T.A. Tairova, Foreign Minister of the Azerbaydzhan SSR, and N.S. Lutskaya, member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of the Peoples of Asia (a leading Soviet writer on the modern history of North Africa). They met Bourguiba and Ferhat Abbas (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 28.5.61), 3.6.61 and 7.6.61). A Tunisian mission of good will visiting China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam stopped in Moscow, and the Tunisian Ambassador gave a reception for them (PRAVDA 8 and 10.7.61).

Morocco TRUD reported (6.7.61) that a strike of 15,000 phosphate miners, demanding higher pay, had been in progress for seven days at Kuriga, and (13.7.61) that the strike had ended in victory for the miners' pay claims. Yu. Kornakov, in a comment on the strike, recalled that earlier this year there had been a strike of workers in the US military bases, and that Moroccan civil servants had demanded the removal of foreign technical specialists from the administrative services. The militancy of Moroccan organized labour, which "the foreign capitalists fear like fire", showed that Moroccan workers were gathering their forces for a decisive struggle to achieve their demands.

Guinea TRUD (23.6.61) reported the visit to Guinea of a delegation of Soviet trade unionists. The delegation had gone on to visit Ghana.

Ghana TRUD (30.6.61) reported the joint communique issued by the Ghana Congress of Trade Unions and the Soviet trade union delegation after the latter's visit to Ghana. Both sides expressed agreement on such issues as disarmament, peaceful coexistence, the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Congo, Angola and solidarity with all peoples fighting for independence. They welcomed the resolutions of the recent Casablanca conference of the All-African Trade Union Federation. A regular exchange of publications and information between the two sides was agreed on, and the Ghana Congress of Trade Unions accepted an invitation to send to the Soviet Union a delegation headed by Mr. John Tettegah.

A Soviet-Ghanaian agreement on technical assistance signed in Accra provides for the construction in Ghana of 13 fishing industry undertakings. The Soviet specialists who will plan these undertakings are expected in Ghana shortly (PRAVDA 15.6.61).

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Ghana Khrushchev and Brezhnev sent a message of congratulations to President Nkrumah. A soiree was held in Moscow in the House of Friendship with the Peoples of Foreign Countries (PRAVDA 1.7.61). Articles on the anniversary (PRAVDA 1.7.61; IZVESTIYA 2.7.61) emphasized the growth of Soviet-Ghanaian friendship during the past year, and in particular the Soviet Union's assistance in Ghanaian development projects.

(Note: Reports on President Nkrumah's visit to the Soviet Union will be reviewed in the next issue of the Newsletter.)

An agreement between the USSR and Ghana on cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy was signed in Moscow on 28th February 1961. Under the terms of this agreement in the period 1962-1965 Soviet

organizations will design and supply the fuel, equipment and any other necessary materials for an atomic research reactor of 2,000 kilowatts. Soviet specialists will be sent to Ghana to assist in its construction, to train Ghanaian specialists and to supervise the working of the reactor for at least a year. Assistance will also be given in constructing a laboratory for the production of isotopes and in erecting other subsidiary buildings and in drawing up plans for research and experimental work, and Ghanaian specialists will be accepted for training in the USSR (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR No. 25 (1060) of 22nd June 1961).

Nigeria A Nigerian economic mission headed by the Federal Minister of Finance Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh arrived in Moscow from Prague on 6th June for talks on trade and economic questions (PRAVDA 7.6.61). On 9th June they were received by Khrushchev; speeches made at a reception given for them by the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade were reported in PRAVDA (10.6.61), which also published a communique on the results of the economic talks. This stated that questions of trade, economic, technical and cultural cooperation were discussed, and that both sides expressed readiness to develop Soviet-Nigerian relations on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Government expressed readiness to render economic and technical assistance in organizing certain agricultural projects, building plants for processing agricultural products, and establishing centres for training skilled Nigerian personnel for industry and agriculture. For this purpose the Soviet Government had agreed to send to Nigeria in the near future a group of Soviet experts to study jointly with Nigerian specialists problems involved in practical economic and technical cooperation. Possibilities were revealed for trade exchange, specifically in the export from Nigeria to the USSR of oilseeds and vegetable oil, cotton, hides, rubber, cocoa and other goods, and the export from the USSR to Nigeria of industrial equipment, tractors, motor vehicles, agricultural machinery, machine tools, chemicals, medicines, building materials, cement, textiles, sugar and consumer goods. It was decided that a trade agreement and a cultural agreement would be concluded in the near future. The Soviet side expressed readiness to accept Nigerian citizens for training in Soviet institutions of higher education in the academic year 1961-2.

Togo Under a Soviet-Togolese trade agreement signed in Lome on 12th June the USSR will supply Togo with various machinery and equipment, building materials, cotton and other textile products and other consumer goods; Togo will export to the USSR coffee, cocoa, cotton, oilseeds and other traditional items of Togolese export (PRAVDA 16.6.61).

Ivory Coast Statements made by President Houphouet-Boigny during his visit to France provoked a sharp attack on him in IZVESTIYA (14.6.61) by V. Kudryavtsev. Kudryavtsev actually reported very little of what M. Houphouet-Boigny had said, making such general assertions as: "He delighted his colonialist hosts by expressing on African lips the programme of neo-colonialism." According to one French newspaper, said Kudryavtsev, he had declared that to break with the former colonial power brings no benefit; and he had made this statement not about his own republic, but about Algeria. "Thus Houphouet-Boigny at the time of the Evian talks stabs the Algerian people in the back, casting aside the idea of African solidarity." Kudryavtsev went on to denounce M. Houphouet-Boigny as a big plantation-owner who had enriched himself by the exploitation of underpaid African labour; people like him, he said, showed the true character of "the formal independence of certain African states".

Somalia On the occasion of the first anniversary of Somalia's independence messages of good wishes were sent by Khrushchev to the Somali Premier Ali Sharmarke (PRAVDA 6.7.61) and by Brezhnev to the newly elected Somali President Aden Abdullah Osman (PRAVDA 15.7.61). A soiree was held in Moscow, in the House of Friendship with the Peoples of Foreign Countries (30.6.61), and the Somali Charge d'Affaires gave a reception (PRAVDA 4.7.61). Articles in IZVESTIYA (1.7.61) and PRAVDA (2.7.61) emphasized the significance for Somalia's development of the recent agreement on Soviet aid to Somalia. On Somalia's foreign policy, PRAVDA noted that this was one of neutrality; "but the sympathies and feelings of the peoples of African states cannot be neutral."

KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA (7.6.61) reported a reception in Alma Ata in honour of the Mayor of Mogadishu, who was visiting Central Asia with a party of municipal colleagues (on his way to China).

Zanzibar Tass (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 10.6.61) quoted the New China News Agency for an account of the joint statement on the disturbances in Zanzibar issued by the Nationalist Party of Zanzibar and the People's Party of Zanzibar and Pemba. This stated that claims that the disturbances were due to "racial enmity" were utterly false; in fact it had been a case of "cold-blooded and premeditated murder". The disorders had been "deliberately inspired by the colonialists", since the Zanzibar Nationalist Party opposed colonialism and foreign military bases.

NEW TIMES (No. 28 of 1961) published an article on Zanzibar by Bertold Shliman, who had recently visited the island. Shliman said nothing specifically against the Afro-Shirazi (opposition) Party, but said a great deal in favour of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, which he claimed had "won the support of all the progressive forces in the country". On the subject of the disorders, he quoted the above joint state-

ment of the Nationalist and People's parties to the effect that "the organizers of the disorders hoped to re-enact the tragedy of the Congo in Zanzibar".

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